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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /076 W

----- 004787

R 150955Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7668

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PK, PFOR

SUBJECT: TWO BHUTTO PRESS INTERVIEWS REVIEW

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: SEPTEMBER 14 PAKISTAN PRESS FEATURES FRONT PAGE SELECTIONS FROM INTERVIEW PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO RECENTLY GAVE TO GEORGE HUTCHINSON OF LONDON "SPECTATOR" AND PART ONE OF A TWO-PART INTERVIEW APPEARING IN SEPTEMBER 13 "TEHRAN JOURNAL." WHILE EACH INTERVIEW GENERALLY REITERATES STANDARD PAK FOREIGN POLICY DOGMA, BHUTTO'S COMMENTS ON DETENTE AND RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. ARE WORTHY OF INTEREST. STORY ON "SPECTATOR" INTERVIEW IS HEADLINED THAT DENIAL BY WEST OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY WILL LEAD TO DETERIORATION OF TIES, BUT DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR TRANSFERS ONLY MENTIONED BRIEFLY IN INTERVIEW. END SUMMARY.

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2. THE "TEHRAN JOURNAL" INTERVIEW DESCRIBED PAKISTAN-IRAN AND PAKISTAN-U.S. TIES. BHUTTO NOTED THAT IF IRAN SUCCUMS TO AGGRESSION, PAKISTAN WOULD FIND RESISTANCE VERY DIFFICULT, WHILE IF PAKISTAN WERE OVERRUN, IRAN WOULD BE OUTFLANKED. HE REGRETTED THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS A "TENDENCY TO EQUATE PAKISTAN WITH INDIA" AND ADDED THAT PAKISTAN'S BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. SHOULD ENTITLE PAKISTAN TO RECEIVE AMERICAN ARMS FREE OF COST. RATHER, DESPITE THE LIFTING OF THE 1965 ARMS EMBARGO, WASHINGTON STILL INSISTS EACH ARMS SHIPMENT BE CLEARED INDIVIDUALLY AND PAID FOR IN CASH.

3. IN "SPECTATOR" INTERVIEW, BHUTTO EMPHASIZED PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES HAVE WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF TIME. THIS RELATIONSHIP "SERVES AS A BULWARK FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN OUR REGION." HE ADDED THE USG DID NOT "TILT" TOWARD PAKISTAN IN 1971, BUT RATHER ACTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE U.N. CHARTER. HE ALSO NOTED PAKISTAN'S FINANCIAL WEAKNESS COMBINES WITH THE "OBSTRUCTING CONDITIONS" THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS HAS IMPOSED ON PAKISTAN'S EFFORTS TO FULFILL HER ESSENTIAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS; THE NET EFFECT IS TO HAMPER PAKISTAN'S DEFENCE EFFORTS.

4. BHUTTO DECLARED THAT THE WEST CANNOT IGNORE THE IMPORTANCE OF PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC POSITION RELATIVE TO THE PERSIAN GULF AS WELL AS HER SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN. WITH CREDIBLE DEFENCE FACILITIES, HE STATED, PAKISTAN CAN SIGNIFICANTLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROMOTION OF STABILITY IN THE ENTIRE OIL-BEARING MIDDLE EAST. MOREOVER, PAKISTAN HAS AN "APPETITE FOR WESTERN LEARNING AND TECHNOLOGY." THIS WILL INCREASE AS TIME PASSES, BUT SUCH INCREASE PRESUPPOSES "UNGRUDGING COOPERATION FROM THE OTHER SIDE." HE WARNED, "SHOULD WE BE DENIED ACCESS TO... NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY THAT WE NEED URGENTLY TO OVERCOME THE ...PAUCITY OF INDIGENOUS FUELS, THERE WILL BE A CONSIDERABLE REACTION; AND EROSION OF OUR CURRENT INTELLECTUAL RAPPORT."

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5. IN HIS "SPECTATOR" INTERVIEW BHUTTO ALSO REVIEWED PAKISTAN'S OTHER KEY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. HE CONTENDED THAT DETENTE SIMULTANEOUSLY INCORPORATES COOPERATION, COMPETITION, AND CONFLICT. U.S. AND SOVIET EXPECTATIONS FROM DETENTE WERE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AND LATER EVENTS HAVE UNDERScoreD THIS DIVERGENCE OF PURPOSES. HE SAID PAKISTAN ASSUMES THE PREVALENCE OF DETENTE IN EUROPE, BUT DOES NOT WANT

DETENTE TO CAUSE GLOBAL OR REGIONAL IMBALANCES AND GENERATE NEW SOURCES OF TENSION. HE NOTED A POTENTIAL IN THIS REGARD THAT PLACES CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON SOUTH ASIAN NATIONS.

6. BHUTTO ASSESSED PAKISTAN-CHINA TIES AS FOUNDED ON A "NATURAL RECOGNITION OF GEO-STRATEGIC REALITIES" THAT LED TO THEIR ESTABLISHMENT. THE DEATH OF CHOU EN-LAI, WHILE A GREAT LOSS, WILL NOT AFFECT THIS RELATIONSHIP BECAUSE THE TIE IS NOT BASED ON CHANGING EXPEDIENTS. BHUTTO CITED THE "ORGANIC AFFINITY" BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH, DESPITE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES OR INTERNATIONAL MANIPULATION, AS A VITAL ELEMENT IN THE COMPOSITION OF TODAY'S SOUTH ASIA.

7. THE PM DESCRIBED THE ECONOMIC FACTOR AS THE MOST PRESSING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HE CALLED AGAIN FOR A COOPERATIVE DIALOGUE ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE THIRD WORLD. HE NOTED THAT THE PROGNOSIS FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE IS SO FAR DISCOURAGING. HE HAS THEREFORE PROPOSED A CONFERENCE OF THIRD WORLD LEADERS TO DEVISE A STRATEGY FOR AN EQUITABLE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

8. BHUTTO EXPRESSED PLEASURE OVER THE WARMING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA, BUT NOTED THAT THOUGH PAKISTAN IS DETERMINED TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT OF PEACE, SECURITY, AND STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA, THE UNRESOLVED KASHMIR DISPUTE IS THE ONLY BLOCK THAT IMPEDES GENUINE NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. HE HOPED THAT INDIA WOULD RECOGNIZE HOW NECESSARY A SETTLEMENT IS FOR THIS ISSUE IN INDIA'S OWN LONG-TERM INTERESTS AS WELL AS FOR GENERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH ASIA. HE HOPED ALSO THAT UNDER INDIA'S CURRENT REGIME THE GOI WOULD BE LESS PRONE TO THE PRESSURE OF GROUPS WHO HATE PAKISTAN. UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS A SETTLEMENT OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE MAY BE EASIER FOR INDIA TO PARTICIPATE IN, SINCE IT WOULD BE HONORABLE, BUT WOULD ALSO INVOLVE "NO EXERCISE IN MAGNANIMITY." BOTH COUNTRIES COULD THEN DIVERT THEIR SCARCE RESOURCES FROM ARMS TO SELF-IMPROVEMENT. BYROAD

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ISLAMA09653
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760349-0747
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760959/aaaabygd.tel
Line Count: 163
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <09 SEP 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TWO BHUTTO PRESS INTERVIEWS REVIEW PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, SOPN, PK, US, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006